The Nuclear Test Bedlam, P. 4

Our Gumshoe Men Seem to Do Better at Catching Daily Worker Subscribers Than Spies, See P. 3

I. F. Stone's Weekly

VOL. VIII, NO. 4 FEBRUARY 1, 1960 WASHINGTON, D. C. 15 CENTS

What the Democrats Didn't Say About Nixon

That mass onslaught of the Democratic candidates on Nixon at the $100-a-plate dinner here last week-end was a rather cheap and demogogic affair, perhaps because the party hopefuls keyed their remarks to the tastes of former President Truman in the hope of winning his favor. To call the Vice President "a juvenile delinquent" and "a slicker" is not clever. There are serious questions to be answered by Nixon. If the Democrats were a peace party, they would be taking advantage of the revelations in the Eden memoirs, now running in *The Times* of London, to make a formidable attack upon the Vice President. For he was closely allied with Admiral Radford and Secretary Dulles in what Sir Winston Churchill described (see adjoining box) as an effort to mislead Congress into approving a military operation in Indo-China which might have brought "the world to the verge of a major war."

Nixon Was A Peace Candidate Then, Too

All the polls show that Mr. Nixon's stock has risen since his visit to Moscow. It is as a peace candidate that he will run for election. But Eisenhower and Nixon were elected as peace candidates in 1952, too, and the Eden memoirs are a reminder that Eisenhower had hardly finished making peace in Korea when Nixon was ready to plunge the U.S. into war in Indo-China. Though Nixon will campaign on the Eisenhower record, there is much to make one wonder whether he will carry it on. He backed MacArthur against Truman in 1951, and his formula for a Korean peace as developed in the Senate (April 11, 1951) bore no resemblance to the one Eisenhower was to apply two years later. Mr. Nixon was for bombing Chinese bases, and unleashing Chiang Kai-shek.

In the spring of 1954 just when an Indo-Chinese peace seemed in sight Radford and Dulles tried to sell the British the idea of joining us in an air and naval strike which would be extended to the Chinese mainland if Peking intervened. The Eden memoirs show that Churchill rejected the plan as bound to be ineffective without the landing of troops and likely to set off a major war. While Radford and Dulles were trying to draw the British into this adventure, Nixon was trying to drum up support for intervention at home. Ten days before the Geneva conference on Indo-China opened, he made an off the record speech to the American Society of Newspaper Editors only to have his anonymity broken next day when the London *Times* implied and the Paris *France-Soir* stated that the "high Administration spokesman" being quoted in the U.S. press was Nixon.

Two aspects of that speech deserve consideration now when Nixon is about to run as a peace candidate. One was the cynical view he expressed. He said the U.S. was "the only country that is strong enough politically at home to take a position that will save Asia," i.e. to disregard the popular demand for negotiation and peace. He thought the American people uninformed and their wishes to be ignored. "With regard to the view that it might be politically expedient to agree to negotiations with Red China," the *New York Times* reported, "he said that if the United States left its policy to an uninformed public opinion, it would go down the long road to disaster." "With or without the support of public opinion," he was quoted as saying, "if the situation in Indo-China requires that American troops be sent there to prevent the area from disappearing behind the iron curtain, the Administration must face the issue and send the troops." Eisenhower did face the issue, and on advice of General Ridgway among others, decided not to send them. What if Nixon had been President?

A Plot to Mislead Congress

"I asked Admiral Radford if he really thought that air intervention by the United States and the United Kingdom could decisively alter the situation. Had the Americans considered the effect on world opinion and how the Chinese would react? I said that I assumed that they [Dulles and Radford] had not forgotten the Russo-Chinese alliance. It was possible that if we went into Indo-China we should find ourselves . . . heading for a world war. Admiral Radford replied that he had never thought the Chinese would intervene in Indo-China, nor had they the necessary resources available. If they attempted air action, we could eliminate this by bombing the Chinese airfields. . . . I drove to Chequers to give the Prime Minister a full report. . . . Sir Winston summed up the position by saying that what we were being asked to do was to assist in misleading Congress into approving a military operation which would in itself be ineffective and might well bring the world to the verge of a major war."

—Eden's Memoirs, London Times, Jan. 11.

Nixon Was Wrong About Vietnam

The other aspect of this affair which deserves attention now is the bad judgment Nixon shared with Radford and Dulles. They took the apocalyptic view that a truce and partition of Vietnam would be "the end of southeast Asia." They were wrong. The situation has been stabilized, the bloodletting stopped. Humphrey challenged Nixon on this at the time. Perhaps the Democrats are inhibited from opening up on the reliability of Nixon as a peace candidate because they fear that Truman and Acheson may feel the same way about Indo-China as did Nixon and Dulles. The Democrats would rather drum up the arms race than search for peace.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

On the Capitol Ticker Tape: Still No U.S. Policy on Disarmament

The French Crisis Threatens to Upset Summit Meeting and Arms Talks

DE GAULLE: The French crisis is a world crisis. It threatens not only to disrupt plans for the summit meeting and new East-West arms talks but could set in motion the most dangerous kind of chain reaction. Should the Army take over, should the Algerian struggle lap over into Tunisia, should there be a Left-Right struggle in France, the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. might find themselves drawn in on either side. The whole African continent is explosive with race resentments, and the Camp David *detente* is very precarious anyway.

THE PRICE OF RACISM: The ability of France to build an atom bomb but not to run a stable government is a symbol of our times. Men can make new monsters of destruction but remain feckle and feeble-minded in tackling the task of learning to live together peacefully. The Army connived-in uprising of the Algiers "poor whites" and Fascists is only one manifestation of what is happening wherever colonial or colored peoples ask for equality with white. Government, education, normal civilized inhibitions break down. The price of racism is heavy everywhere.

CIVIL RIGHTS: The Lyndon Johnson candidacy, supported by Rayburn, requires some action on civil rights and explains the leak to the *New York Times* of the names so far signed to the discharge petition in the House. Access to this list is closely guarded and the names could have been obtained only with the connivance of the leadership.

VOTING REGISTRARS: The proposal by Attorney General Rogers for Court-appointed voting registrars backed by the weapon of civil contempt (no jury trial) gives the Administration the election year initiative in this field. It seems at first glance less cumbersome than the Humphrey bill (S. 2814) for the appointment of temporary Federal registrars by the President.

DISARMAMENT: The five-power group which began working here last Monday on formulation of a joint Western attitude in the East-West arms talks (scheduled to begin March 15) discovered that U.S. agencies still don't have a common policy. Defense Department—if not State—would be relieved if the nuclear talks broke down because it could then argue there was no point in proceeding to negotiate on other, more complex, matters.

Then Kennedy Drafted Bowles

We went through a 5,000 word speech by Chester Bowles before the Women's National Democratic Club here Jan. 21 to see what he had to say about the arms problem, and have culled for our readers his pronouncements on the subject. "In the absence of a tightly controlled disarmament system," the Connecticut Congressman said, "it is clear that we cannot afford to have only the second best system in a world where each year's ultimate weapon may become obsolete in the following year." This must have struck his listeners as reassuringly like their own millinery problem: last year's missile like last year's hat.

Mr. Bowles also explained that "our quest for a meaningful and lasting peace in itself spans a host of issues. It involves our need for a more adequate defense and at the same time a more realistic approach to tightly controlled disarmament agreements that will ease the incredibly dangerous arms race." There's nothing like a realistic approach. Finally Mr. Bowles waded in on the problem of military reorganization and said "we need a clear and comprehensive reappraisal of our defense system which will cut through the fog of overlapping authority, confusion, inadequate planning and procurement, and waste which now beclouds it." When fog gets beclouded, it is time to call a halt and put our shoulders to the wheel.

Mr. Bowles ended on a high note. He said we faced a challenge "more than military, more than political. It goes down to the depths of our being—straight to the meaning of life itself," and imposed on Democrats the obligation to provide "the clear voice, the keen analysis and the wide vision . . . our nation has missed for seven years."

Three days later Senator Kennedy invited Mr. Bowles to be his foreign policy adviser, and supply his campaign with more of that wide or Vista vision.

GOD AND GOEBBELS: Adenauer's statement at a special audience with Pope John, "I think that God has given the German people a special role in the present stormy times—to be the guardians of the West against those powerful influences which are brought to bear on us from the East", was omitted from the official Vatican report, perhaps lest some cynic conclude God had taken over where Goebbels left off.

Hopeful Report on Kremlin Attitude Toward Disarmament by Nobel Prize Winner

Philip Noel-Baker, veteran Laborite MP, winner of the 1959 Nobel peace prize for his lifelong devotion to the cause of disarmament, flew to the U.S. to address the dedication dinner of the American Jewish Committee's Institute of Human Relations Jan. 23. Only the New York Times seems to have covered his speech. This is from the report in the early edition of the Times Sunday, Jan. 24.

Mr. Noel-Baker said that on the basis of his talks with Premier Khrushchov last year he was convinced that the Soviet Union was prepared to disarm drastically and to accept strict controls if the Western nations will do likewise.

"They know," Mr. Noel-Baker said of the Kremlin leaders, "that if the arms race goes on they cannot raise their national output of wealth per capita until it equals that of the U.S. and that is their declared objective for 1970. They know, second, that if the arms race goes on it will all too likely end in general nuclear war; and they know that not much would survive in Russia and certainly not the Communist system to which they have given their lives."

Attributing to the Soviet leaders "a deep and genuine conviction", he declared they had a much more vivid understanding of what these modern weapons mean than many people in authority in the West." Mr. Noel-Baker contended that Premier Khrushchov could not be proved insincere "until we try a serious negotiation with him and until we make it plain that we want a serious result." He warned against just saving a little money, keeping the bulk of the armament we possess, allowing our military research to perfect new and more deadly weapons every year.

On the other hand, he said, until serious negotiation is tried "Mr. Khrushchov can prove us insincere to the two-thirds of humanity who watch the arms race with growing fear and with a desperate feeling that there is nothing we can do. To keep up the arms race, Mr. Noel-Baker said, would not protect democracy but kill it "stone dead." He observed that although the Soviet Union, under disarmament, might not change its economic system, it would "cease to threaten all mankind."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Our Gumshoe Men Better at Catching Daily Worker Subscribers Than Spies

Mr. K's Joke to Allen Dulles Recalled in NATO Officer's Arrest As Agent

In a sensational front page story Jan. 18 the Conservative London *Daily Telegraph* said "American screening is blamed by Western counter-espionage officers" in the discovery that a German NATO officer was spying for the Russians. The story named Lt. Com. Horst Ludwig, said he had spent four months in a sensitive position in the Lossiemouth Royal Naval Air Station, and reported that British Intelligence believed him responsible for leaking certain Baltic naval operations to the Russians. "Even more serious," the London paper reported, "is the knowledge of Western anti-submarine plans which Ludwig may have gained."

Now Ludwig, brought to trial in Germany, has confessed that he had been a Soviet intelligence agent since 1954, and that he received Soviet instructions while he was taking flight training at Pensacola, Fla., in 1956 and 1957. Lt. Ludwig was cleared by U.S. intelligence authorities although it appears, according to the *Daily Telegraph,* that his dossier showed he had parents living in East Germany (and was therefore subject to blackmail) and that he had a sister in West Germany who had been able to flee the East with all her furniture, obviously no ordinary escape. This sister is on trial with him, charged with having been a go-between.

Third Case of Its Kind

It is a pity there is no Congressional committee with power to look into intelligence operations. Despite the fact that the U.S. probably has the most extensive net of intelligence operatives outside the Soviet Union, with dossiers covering a substantial portion of our population, and that we possess elaborate screening procedures for all kinds of government, industrial and maritime workers, this is the third time in recent years that espionage has turned up in sensitive positions. The first was the discovery of Judy Coplon in the internal security division of the Justice Department with access to all kinds of inside FBI information; the second, the conviction of Joseph Peterson for slipping secret material to the Dutch from the National Security Agency.

All three cases show the failure of normal security screening operations. These reflect so strong an obsession with left-of-centre political associations and opinions that they may well facilitate the work of espionage by distracting energies and attention from normal counter-espionage. A spy who is so unsporting that he never subscribed to the *Daily Worker* or marched in a May Day parade can easily slip through the clearance standards our agencies use. Peterson was only caught when his superiors noticed top secret papers missing; Judy Coplon came under suspicion because of a jealous Russian's wife; Ludwig was exposed by a defecting East German security officer. None of these were exactly triumphs of counter-espionage.

There is another piquant angle to the Ludwig case. One newspaper (*Wash. Post,* Jan. 26) reports he may have been cleared because he once worked as a U.S. counter-spy in East Germany; another (*NY Times,* Jan. 26) because Ludwig's father was "a double agent employed by both Western and Communist intelligence services." This recalls a jocular remark by Khrushchov to Allen Dulles when he met the CIA Chief at a White House dinner. The Soviet Premier said he read the same reports Dulles did and maybe they ought to save money by merging their services! One wonders whether the CIA apparatus may not sometimes be a handy avenue for the entrance of enemy agents.

$327,000 More for Walter

A resolution giving the Un-American Activities Committee another $327,000 was passed Jan. 20 without advance notice, discussion or record vote while few members were on the floor. Next day Congressman James Roosevelt (D. Cal.) told the House:

"Frankly since this is a controversial committee and its manner of operations and its actions have created controversy, and I might say confusion, I cannot understand why it was felt necessary to push through the appropriation on a day when legislation was not anticipated. Under these circumstances, any effort to speak in opposition to the appropriation would have meant very little in the final outcome.

"If a rollcall had been taken on this matter, I would have voted against the appropriation, because I sincerely believe that the taxpayer's money is not being put to full and fruitful use. The committee's work has not resulted in substantive legislative programs or proposals in the field of internal security, the purpose for which the committee presumably was created.

"At a future date in this session, I shall document the fact that the work of the committee has been in hit-and-run endeavors which have made headlines but have not resulted in concrete accomplishments. The abortive foray into California is one of the latest examples. I shall also show, as I attempted to do last session, that other agencies of government are more effective in handling matters involving our internal security, without fanfare."

This was rather tepid, but no other Congressman said as much. Mr. Roosevelt's office says he is preparing a speech against the Committee for delivery soon. Ask your Congressman if he will speak up, too. It will be shameful if the highly advertised liberal bloc fails to support Mr. Roosevelt.

Hennings Protests Move to Allow Faceless Informers Again in Plant Security

In a letter to Secretary of Defense Gates Jan. 22, Senator Hennings protested the reported preparation of an executive order again permitting faceless informer procedures in the industrial security program. The Senator recalled that last July, after the Supreme Court invalidated such procedures in the Greene case, he asked the Secretary of Defense and the Attorney General to present their views on a new security program before the Senate subcommittee on constitutional rights. Both declined but the Senator said he was promised that before any action were taken the Secretary's views would be given the committee.

Hennings told the Senate the same day that despite a clearly unfavorable Supreme Court decision, the proposed executive order would still permit the exemption from confrontation of both "professional informers" and "casual informants." He said he had asked the Secretary to appear before his committee. We hope Senator Hennings will hold hearings and explore the growing record of screwballs and gossips who have hidden behind the faceless informer practice.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Plain Words Twisted: Now It's the Danger of Secret Blasts in the Himalayas

The Controversy Over Nuclear Test Cessation Grows Ever Wackier

A silly, intemperate and dishonest speech (see adjoining box) was made by AEC Commissioner John F. Floberg here in Washington Jan. 21 before the armament selling American Ordnance Association. He accused the Soviet scientists in Geneva talks of furnishing "not a scintilla of scientific information" and of trying to sell "a pig in a poke" because they proposed "to conclude an early agreement on the cessation of tests, establish a control system, and improve it on the basis of practical experience."

We don't know why so sensible a proposal should send Mr. Floberg into such a lather; only a few days ago the British at Geneva made a similar proposal, suggesting that the quota of veto-free inspections offered by the Russians be made provisional, and adjusted in accordance with the greater knowledge obtained through joint operations.

Mr. Floberg also picked on a passage in Premier Khrushchov's address to the Supreme Soviet Jan. 14 in which the latter said "let us concede" that there may not be "absolute certainty" in detection apparatus, still an agreement would place "great responsibility" on the signers and any violators would "cover themselves with shame" and "be branded by all the peoples of the world." This set off Mr. Floberg into some hysterical remarks about Budapest.

Maybe the Abominable Snowman Might Help

An off-the-record briefing with the earmarks of being from the same source landed on page one of the *New York Times* Jan. 27 with a new angle which must make the Russians wonder about the mentality they are dealing with. The story gave a strangely twisted interpretation to the fact that Khrushchov in the same speech pledged himself not to resume testing in the Soviet Union if we didn't. This was interpreted to mean that Khrushchov would feel free to test *outside* the Soviet Union! It was suggested that there were many areas where he could do so "without violating this pledge—particularly in the foothills of the Himalaya mountains." Somebody had better see a psychiatrist.

Adding to this bedlam was a new speech by Dr. Edward Teller, on the occasion of being given an honorary doctorate of science by Fordham, which has already distinguished itself academically by making Louis Budenz a professor. Dr. Teller advocated continuance of testing not only underground but in interplanetary space. The Federation of American Scientists held a poorly covered press conference that same night in New York to try and inject some saner notes into the discussion but a report on this had not arrived by press time.

In the meantime it may help to clarify matters if we keep two things in mind. One is that the controversy over detection revolves between two negative propositions. One is that we cannot be absolutely sure of distinguishing a small nuclear explosion from a small earthquake. The other, as stated by the Geneva experts in 1958, is that under the control system then agreed on no violator could be absolutely sure of escaping detection. The choice is a choice of risks.

The second point is that the risk is not very substantial since one illegal test wouldn't produce enough to be worth the trouble and the probabilities of detection would rise sharply with the number of illegal tests. This whole business is a nightmare dreamed up by men who want to go on testing.

Nothing Like A Little Old Atom Bomb To Create Peace and Friendship

"Much has been discussed regarding the effect of the atomic bombs on concluding World War II, and one's proximity to Japan at that time has considerable bearing on his views on that question. Regardless of differences of opinion, however, it is indisputable that on the day following the second of those drops, there were initiated not only proceedings for peace but also for the laying of a foundation of friendship, mutual reliance, and mutual respect which finds our country and Japan closely cooperating in the safeguarding of democracy and which brings her Premier to this country at this very time as an honored guest."

—U.S. Atomic Energy Commissioner John F. Floberg, addressing Washington, D. C. Post of the American Ordnance Association, January 21.

Thanks for the Gift Subs Coming In With Renewals—They Help Us Fight Rising Costs

I. F. Stone's Weekly, 5618 Nebraska Ave., N. W. Washington 15, D. C.

Please renew (or enter) my sub for the enclosed $5:*

Name .....

Street .....

City .....**Zone**.....**State**.....

2/1/60

Enter gift sub for $2 (6 mos.) or $4 (1 yr.) additional:

(To) Name .....

Street .....

City .....**Zone**.....**State**.....

Shall we send gift announcement? Yes ☐ No ☐

I. F. Stone's Weekly

5618 Nebraska Ave., N. W.

Washington 15, D. C.

NEWSPAPER

Entered as Second Class Mail Matter Washington, D. C. Post Office

I. F. Stone's Weekly. Entered as Second Class Matter at Washington, D. C., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Post-dated Mondays but published every Thursday except the last two Thursdays of August and December at 5618 Nebraska Ave., N. W., Washington 15, D. C. An independent weekly published and edited by I. F. Stone; Circulation Manager, Esther M. Stone. Subscription: $5 in the U. S.; $6 in Canada; $10 elsewhere. Air Mail rates: $15 to Europe; $20 to Israel, Asia and Africa.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED